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[Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique]: *Département de Loir-et-cher, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Blois et du Bailliage Secondaire de Romorantin, pour les États Généraux de 1789*, I., II., ed. F. LESUEUR et A. CAUCHIE (1907, 1908, pp. xcix, 576; 509); *do.* (Manche) *Cotentin*, II., ed. ÉMILE BRIDREY (1908, pp. 806); *do.* (Gard) *Nîmes*, I., ed. E. BLIGNY-BONDURAND (1908, pp. lv, 584); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône) *Marseille*, ed. J. FOURNIER (1908, pp. lxi, 557); *do.* (Yonne) *Sens*, ed. CH. PORÉE (1908, pp. 846); *do.* (Lot) *Cahors*, ed. V. FOURASTIÉ (1908, pp. xiv, 383); (Dép. Rhône), *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux*, ed. S. CHARLÉTY (1906, pp. xviii, 722); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône), *id.*, I., ed. P. MOULIN (1908, pp. lxxii, 592); *do.* (Orne), *Recueil des Documents d'Ordre Économique, contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon, 1788—an IV*, I., II., ed. F. MOURLOT (1907, 1908, pp. xxiii, 766; 672); *Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention*, I.—III., ed. F. GERBAUX et CH. SCHMIDT (1906–1908, pp. xiv, 763; xxiv, 775; xxxi, 823); *Recueil des Réponses faites par les Communautés de l'Élection de Gap au Questionnaire envoyé par la Commission Intermédiaire des États du Dauphiné*, ed. l'Abbé GUILLAUME (1908, pp. xvii, 609); *Les Comités des Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial (1789–1793)*, ed. PH. SAGNAC et P. CARON (1907, pp. xlv, 826); *L'Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie (1761–1793)*, ed. M. BRUCHET (1909, pp. ciii, 638).

NOTICES in earlier numbers of this REVIEW (XI. 534–537; XII. 373–376) described the aim and general character of the series of which these volumes form a part. New issues have appeared, meanwhile, which comprise such a variety of material that they may probably be taken to represent fairly the contribution which the series offers to the student interested in economic history.

One general judgment seems warranted at the outset. These documents are not the ordinary material of economic history, nor do they present an ordinary chapter in French economic history, but, in strict conformity to the title of the series, they represent the economic history of the French Revolution. The student who seeks to learn from their pages how the French people were making a living at the close of the eighteenth century, how they tilled their soil and refined its products, how they traded among themselves and with their neighbors, must be gifted with an alert discrimination if he would hear aright the suggestions which are offered to guide him in his search. He has been

used, probably, to a sober reticence, when he has questioned the people of other times and places about their economic life. The day's work has seemed to them so commonplace that they have thought of little to say about it, and have left records which were meagre but were at the same time unconscious and trustworthy. The student will find in the books under review similar unconscious indications of the economic organization, though these are less plentiful than one would expect in volumes of such scope and bulk. But from the consideration of this evidence the reader is distracted by the clamor of many voices, denouncing injustices, demanding rights, asserting in one breath that everything is changed, complaining in another that the old order persists intact. It is not alone what is said in the documents which clouds the reader's judgment; there is always the suspicion in his mind that the noisy part of the nation was writing the history of the period, that it left unsaid much that the quiet part, perhaps a very large part, could have told us about the condition of their affairs. Some of the documents, indeed, are interesting as much because of the ignorance which they betray as for the knowledge which they reveal. "On est surpris, en effet", say the editors of the *cahiers* of Blois, "de constater combien la population était souvent mal renseignée sur les institutions dont elle avait à se plaindre et, en général, sur toute l'administration de l'ancien régime."

These considerations apply with greatest force to the volumes of *cahiers*, a kind of material already familiar to students of the period. The new volumes make no great departure from similar collections previously printed, except as they extend our knowledge of local conditions in the rural communes, and provide, in the volume on Marseilles, a welcome source of information on the position of the corporations of arts and trades at the time. The most noteworthy advance which they mark lies in the contributions of their editors, who have attempted and attained a distinctly higher standard than has hitherto prevailed in publications of the kind. The editors have chosen various ways to reach their ends. All have illustrated their *cahiers* by the use of other manuscript material; some, notably MM. Lesueur and Cauchie, have prefaced their work with elaborate introductions; M. Bridrey elucidates his documents with foot-notes which equal in bulk the text itself, and M. Porée distinguishes his volume by the full information contained in the paragraphs introductory to each *cahier*. Most of the volumes, furthermore, are provided with really excellent indexes, covering subjects as well as persons and places, and adding immensely to the practical value of the work.

Many of the editors have given attention to the question of the authorship of ideas which reappear so often in the *cahiers* that they clearly confess to a common origin. In the volume on Blois, in which the question is admirably treated, and in that on Cahors, the repetition of certain grievances is shown clearly to correspond with the local grouping of the parishes; and various indications betray the influence of

assembly presidents, of officers of justice and of the clergy. We may note in passing that the editor of the volume on Cahors has gone astray (p. 140) in thinking that Gay's poem on "The Degenerate Bees" was in the mind of the author of the *cahier*, who refers as distinctly as possible to Bernard Mandeville's book, *The Fable of the Bees*, and, furthermore, describes one of its leading ideas, that luxury is beneficent.

In interesting contrast with the *cahiers* is the collection offered by the Abbé Guillaume of answers made by the communities of a district in Dauphiné, corresponding to the modern department of Hautes Alpes, to a schedule of questions proposed to them by a provincial commission in 1789. The spirit of the Revolution is less evident in this volume than in any of the others. The people were invited, not to express their views on the world at large and their suggestions for its improvement, but to describe the actual conditions of their village life in answer to specific questions exactly like those asked in a modern census. The questions, twenty-four in number, covered such practical matters of fact as the size of the community, sanitary conditions, agricultural and industrial products and trade, local finances, schools, and poor relief. The answers are, for the most part, curt and definite and inspire in the reader a confidence which the editor believes to be well founded. Seldom, indeed, does the student of economic history find a more satisfactory means of informing himself about the economic organization of the past; and if similar sources covered the remainder of France they would provide an invaluable means of checking the statements, so distinctly subjective, of the *cahiers* and of the petitions and memorials in other volumes. The department of Hautes Alpes is, unfortunately, but a small part of France, characterized then as now by conditions of life so simple that they cannot be taken to illustrate the French organization as a whole.

Even when the clash of opinions is stilled, as in M. Moulin's statistical account of the sale of national property in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, the facts recorded are generally those of abrupt and sweeping change. M. Moulin's volume resembles in all important characteristics that of M. Charléty on the sale of national property in the department of the Rhone, which has already been described in this REVIEW (XII. 375-376). The chief change to be noted is one of arrangement, the documents being grouped no longer by districts but by communes; and this change in classification will undoubtedly facilitate the study and interpretation of the records. As applied in the present volume the reader must regret that it deprives him of the opportunity to follow the course of land transfers in the rural districts; the general inventories of ecclesiastical property make up the larger part of the volume, and the remaining space is devoted almost entirely to the commune of Aix, an urban centre. The student will find this material on the sale of national property, at best, refractory. The appearance of

accuracy, implied always in statistics, is shown by the editors to be somewhat deceptive; and, on the other hand, the facts are presented in a form so atomic and incoherent that they will require patient study and considerable constructive ability of one who would gather from them their social and economic significance.

The stout volumes in which M. Mourlot prints the municipal documents of the district of Alençon contain over four thousand entries taken from the records of forty-three communes and covering ten years of the Revolutionary period. With rare exceptions the documents are summarized and are presented in the form of a calendar, chronologically arranged by communes. They refer in part to such routine matters of local administration as taxes, roads, and communal property, and in part bear witness to the activities of the Revolutionary government at Paris. In them can be traced, with an abundance of detail, the efforts of the government to gather the resources of the countryside for its wars abroad. The appraisal of resources gives occasionally results of considerable interest, as, for instance, the enumeration of the entire stock in trade of a country store, which is printed on page 536 of the first volume. A topic which invites attention and which might profitably be studied with some care is the policy followed to insure the local food supply. The assize of bread, which was said recently by D'Avenel to persist still in many French towns, was in full vigor in this period and was the object of many regulations. In these times of scarcity, while the government was endeavoring to enforce the law of maximum price, the grain trade was naturally under the closest surveillance, and came near to being absorbed by local authorities and exercised as an ordinary municipal function. Agents were sent out by the communes to buy wheat and flour on the public account, and, in one case noticed, the agent was authorized before his departure to lay in a stock of cider that he might reduce the expenses of his quest by selling it along the road. Even the institution of the market was enforced with medieval strictness. In Courtomer, in 1793, people were forbidden to buy or sell any ware outside the market-place, at least on Sundays, under penalty of a fine of 10 livres and confiscation of the goods; and later reference shows that people dealing in tow outside the market were actually punished. Similar regulations appear to have been in force in other communes.

The volumes which would seem to promise the most useful general indications of the economic conditions of France in this period are the three edited by MM. Gerbaux and Schmidt, containing the records of the committees of agriculture and of commerce of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. On these committees sat agriculturists, business men, manufacturers, lawyers, officials, and scientists, of whom some were distinguished representatives of their respective callings, and one, at least, Dupont de Nemours, has left a reputation extending far beyond his place and time. The committees were established to receive and

discuss all suggestions relating to the subjects of agriculture and commerce and to prepare appropriate legislation for the consideration of the larger assemblies. An enormous mass of petitions and memorials passed through their hands. The first volume, comprising the records of the Constituent Assembly from its establishment in September, 1789, to January, 1791, contains notices, more or less extended, of 2143 memorials. The second volume, continuing the records of this committee to its dissolution in September, 1791 (p. 441), adds perhaps another thousand; and in addition, in the records of the two separate committees of the Legislative Assembly from October, 1791, to September, 1792, contains 476 memorials on agriculture and 756 on commerce. Some of the documents which reached the committees were dismissed with a bare mention; others were referred to a member to study and report upon them and later were disposed of as he recommended, often by reference to some executive official. Some few gave rise to extended discussions, which are, unfortunately, recorded only in bare summaries, while some were elaborated into projects of law and finally passed the Assembly.

To the student of the legislation of the period these volumes will henceforth be indispensable. To the student of general economic history they offer interesting information on a great variety of topics. The memorials came in from every conceivable source—and from none at all, if we may so designate the origin of the anonymous letters, which were not infrequent. The reactionary demanded a return to the strictest regulations of the old order; the radical proposed the abolition of all restrictions. A man suggested that a *dot* of 100 livres should be provided for all country girls on their marriage; a woman invited others of her sex to cease wearing white clothes. The motley material defies a summary. The editors describe as follows the matters which were brought most often to the attention of the committees in the records of the second volume. First in importance, in agricultural affairs, was the question of the division of common lands among the citizens of the communes. This question, which formed the subject of occasional memorials and petitions in the first volume, grew in importance with the passage of time and was continually agitated in 1792. The committee on agriculture was occupied largely also with projects for canals and with the serious conditions arising from the scarcity of grain. Nearly half of the departments of France applied to the central government for aid in the provision of their food supply, and the committee constantly received complaints and suggestions regarding the grain trade. The committee on commerce joined in the deliberation on this question and had within its own particular field other matters to occupy its attention: points of detail connected with the administration of the customs tariff of 1791 and the position of the free ports. If we scan the pages of the three volumes we get the impression that scarcely a point in the economic field was left untouched. In the matter of

foreign trade, for example, the reader will find not only material illustrating the commercial organization of the time but also many hints helping to an understanding of the slave trade, the colonial system, and the operation of the French commercial policy in Europe.

The editors might well shrink from the task of preparing an index to this heterogeneous mass of material but they promise to provide one for the whole work when they publish the fourth and concluding volume of the records. Meanwhile, the student who would take advantage of the valuable bits of information scattered through some two thousand pages must sift his wheat from an overwhelming amount of chaff. The editors have performed one service of noteworthy importance by indicating the place in the archives where can be found important reports and other documents, of which there is only a mention in the records of the committees. The interest of this material, still unprinted, may be illustrated by an extract (I. 49) from a memorial of the manufacturers of Louviers against the treaty of commerce of 1786 with England. These manufacturers, it appears, had sent their agents to Paris in 1786 to oppose a treaty and to urge the minister to consult with chambers of commerce on the question. They could not get a hearing. "Chaque article du traité", according to the memorial, "a été pesé, discuté, balancé à Londres, par tous ceux qui y avait intérêt; en France, au contraire, la discussion a été secrète, bornée à un petit nombre d'individus; . . . ainsi se sont évanouies les espérances données aux fabriques, ainsi s'est préparée et consommée leur perte sans qu'il leur ait été possible de se faire entendre."

The text of most of the volumes already considered has been provided by the manuscripts of the archives, in a form which, to be sure, required some emendation of spelling and punctuation and sometimes considerable condensation, but which at least imposed on the editors no serious responsibility in the selection and rejection of documents or in the order of arrangement. MM. Sagnac and Caron in their collection of documents illustrating the abolition of the seigniorial régime have had to make a selection from a mass of material in the National Archives estimated by them at twelve-fold the bulk of the work which they present; and further they have provided a scheme, chronological and topical, in which they have grouped the documents to bring out their characteristic features. Beginning with the decree of August 11, 1789, proclaiming the destruction of the feudal system, their first period continues until March, 1790, when the reactionary decree determining the feudal rights which were suppressed without an indemnity, and those which might be commuted, led to a storm of popular indignation. The second period, which occupies the largest part of the volume (pp. 173-765), closes with the sweeping changes effected by the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and the Convention in 1793; the documents of the third period, extending into 1794, are contained in less than fifty pages. Within a period, taking the first for example, documents are grouped

under the following heads: general; personal rights, especially the seigniorial monopolies; rights attaching to land, the most important category, including as it did rents in money and in kind, labor dues, tithes, rights of common, and the many incidents of manorial tenures; finally, disorders and insurrections.

The headings cited suggest the scope of the volume and its importance as a source of information on French agrarian history. The documents, of which the greater number are memorials or petitions, are colored by personal interest and by class prejudices, but they give an extraordinarily vivid picture of conditions as they appeared to contemporaries; and as they seek to represent the seigniorial as well as the popular side in the controversy they do not leave the reader entirely defenseless before the passionate appeals of the advocates of change. One conclusion forces itself on the reader who scans, even cursorily, the pages of the volume. The Revolution made a tremendous breach in the institution of private property as it had been maintained for centuries; and Laveleye's dictum that it was a less violent invasion of property rights than was Gladstone's Irish legislation seems unwarranted. The reader will note in the volume also plenty of evidence explaining the grounds of attack. Among the most interesting documents are those describing the system of agents and middlemen, through whom, in France as in Ireland, the landlords managed to enjoy the benefit of property without accepting its responsibilities.

Similar evidence is furnished by the documents which M. Bruchet has collected to illustrate the extinction of the seigniorial system in Savoy. "Cette vermine" of middlemen, as they are termed in one place, appears to have been one of the plagues of the system. The Congress of Chambéry, in 1774, called particular attention to the way in which crafty and unscrupulous agents amassed large landed properties by the ruin of individuals and even of whole villages. "L'on peut citer dans la vallée de La Rochette un notaire qui, s'étant fait céder pour le prix de 1000 livres les arrérages de la rente de Montmayeur, en a exigé plus de 20,000 en désolant toute la vallée. L'on peut citer le fermier des fiefs de l'évêché de Maurienne et nombre d'autres qui se sont enrichis aux dépens des pauvres laboureurs. L'on peut même dire, en général, qu'il n'y a dans ce pays aucune profession où l'on ait assemblé communément de si gros patrimoine comme dans la commission et la ferme des fiefs."

Without intending any reflection on the work done by the editors of the other volumes it is but fair to accord to M. Bruchet, who is archivist of the department of the Nord, most cordial recognition of the generous way in which he has conceived his editorial duties and of the success with which he has executed them. He has constructed his volume from material scattered in French and foreign archives and extending in time over the period of a generation. He has arranged it so that the student may first follow the general course of the

emancipation movement from the standpoint of the ruling authorities, and then from that of the public, ranged in support or opposition; pages 326 to 454 present a statistical summary of emancipation contracts, arranged by localities; and pages 455 to 586 comprise three monographs summarizing the results of the reforms, first in a typical province of Savoy, second in a commune partitioned among several fiefs, and third in a commune subject to a single lord. He has provided both an index and a good table of contents and has prefaced the documents with an essay of a hundred pages in which he sketches the situation in Savoy before and during the reforms and points out their general significance. In one point only does he seem to have failed of his full duty of editor. He must be acquainted with the studies of Dr. Paul Darmstädter, "Die Hörigen im französischen Jura", in the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, 1896, no. 4, pp. 343-375; *Die Befreiung der Leibeigenen in Savoyen* (Strassburg, 1897), based in considerable part on the same manuscript material which he used; and he would certainly have performed a service to students if he had indicated the existence of these studies even if he did not care to express an opinion on his predecessor's views. In this regard, however, he stands with his colleagues, who refer but rarely to monographs dealing with the material which they present.

CLIVE DAY.

Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française. Tome I. Troisième édition. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1909. Pp. vi, 515.)

THE author of this book is already well known for his voluminous writings on the Second French Republic and the Second Empire in France, nine solid volume in all. These have been reviewed from time to time in our pages and the sound method of the writer is well known to our readers. This volume is quite as substantial and thorough as the others. Documentary material has been gathered by the author and used to a greater extent than by any of his predecessors, and the many new publications of local material—accounts of events during the Revolution in various cities and departments—have shed some interesting side-lights on the subject. In the main, however, he has used the standard authorities, with well-known and approved results. At least so far. There may be novelties in the volumes to follow.

M. de la Gorce has reached the conviction that the Concordat was truly a religious conciliation and as such the most solid basis of the First Consul's renown. Of course in this conclusion he differs widely from Ultramontane opinion. But he is writing four volumes to prove his point. This first one covers the period to the close of the Constituent Assembly, which is that of the decline and extinction of ecclesiastical privilege; the second is to describe the persecution and tem-